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501 almost a jab of the blade into the water, used when a sudden spurt of speed is required to take advantage of a following wave to shoot across the reef. In steering, the paddle is struck into the water as far away as possible and then pulled back through the water.

GESTURES AND EMOTIONAL EXPRESSIONS

201 Various conventional gestures are used for communication without speech. Affirmation (*wakatiko*) is expressed by raising the two eyebrows without moving the rest of the face. Used in answer to a negative question, the gesture indicates that the statement in the negative is correct. Doubt is expressed by screwing up the nose and mouth, wrinkling the forehead, at the same time nodding the head. A distant place or person is indicated by pointing with the forefinger. In beckoning to a person, the arm is flexed with the palm pointing toward the person addressed, and the fingers are closed against the palm and quickly opened. The motion is repeated if necessary. Height is indicated by the outstretched arm, palm pointing to the ground. The size of a fish is always indicated by marking off its approximate length with the 261 fingers of one hand on the other arm. A gesture of insult consists in pointing the fundament toward the person insulted; at times the gesture is ac- 578 companied with words like "Tau kanokano" (Your anus). Pointing and shaking of the forefinger accompanies the hurling of verbal insults at another 201 person. Other attitudes which occur in story telling are mentioned elsewhere (1). Concentration or the exertion of intense physical effort is marked 609 by semi-protrusion of the tongue, grinding of the teeth, or contorting of the 156 face. Shyness or embarrassment in the presence of white people is shown by women and children turning away the head, or lowering the head and covering the mouth, nose, and lower part of the face by the palm and spread- 569 out fingers of the hand. No man was ever observed displaying this gesture. Naked children who become suddenly self-conscious at the approach of a white person cover the genitals with the hand.

Display of affection is marked by pressing the nose against another per- 201 son's face or other part of the body, at the same time inhaling (*yongi*) 576 through the nose. The nose is often applied to the back of the hand of a 832 white person. An excellent account of leave-taking after a visit is given in detail in the story of Te Malo and Totolos (1). The common greeting on the road is "Ka wano koe ki wea?" (Where are you going?). The person addressed answers in detail or in evasion according to his inclination.

827 Sneezing is a sign that someone elsewhere is talking about the sneezer, probably in a gossipy or scandalous fashion. Yawning merely expresses 516 bodily fatigue.

156 Both men and women are noticeably given to the habit of leaning against each other in close bodily contact on every occasion. A group of men stand-

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The dog was unknown in Pukapuka. The native rat (*Mus exulans*) was caught with the rat trap (*vaka kiole*) when it became a pest in the talo beds but was never eaten. Rats were never hunted with weapons for sport.

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Though many stories are told about cannibals, cannibalism was probably not practiced on Pukapuka. The use of human bone was tapu (*ya*), punishable by the goddess Taua (p. 309).

Meals and Food Etiquette

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No routine of set meals is followed. The nature and number of meals eaten by one household group on any one day depend entirely on the amount of food on hand and the program of work for the day:

> If the men have been fishing early in the morning, the family has a meal of fish and *pūpū* some time before 9 o'clock. If there has been no fishing and if there is no left-over supply of fish or talo, a regular meal is not eaten; each individual makes a fresh coconut or *uto* nut do. The Pukapukan feels no need for food before he starts work in the morning and may work until 10 or 11 o'clock without refreshment. A child going to school in the morning takes with him a drinking nut to eat as he walks along the road. A regular meal may not be eaten by a household for a whole day, sometimes even for the best part of two days. Before the second day has passed, fish is procured by some male member of the household and grilled for a formal meal, usually in the evening, not infrequently at 9 or 10 o'clock at night after the torch fishing. It was not unusual for us to be wakened in the middle of the night by a returning fisherman bringing us fish on the supposition that we would get up and eat it immediately. Our practice of eating at regular hours was always a matter of discussion and comment.

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The words *kai, taumamaya, yamayama, kaualama* apply to eating, whether by an individual alone or by a group, whether of a single coconut or of an elaborate meal. There is no Pukapukan word for guest or host, nor is there any custom of entertaining friends or relatives for an occasional meal in the household. Special indebtedness is repaid by sending food gifts to the home of the friend.

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Whether the meal is taken inside the cook house or outside on the open ground—as is usual for a meal on a fine evening—men, women, and children all sit on coconut-leaf (*takapau*) mats, with crossed legs tucked under them. They sit in rows opposite each other. The food platters (*laulau*) are set (*utikalaualau*) on *polapola* coconut mats in the middle. It is customary to rise and leave the group when satisfied (*yongia*). The food is taken from the center platters with the fingers in individual mouthfuls. Food etiquette is remarkable by its absence. There are no rules taught to the child on the correct way to eat food. There is no prescribed manner of chewing. Loud sucking, belching, gurgling, and loud smacking of the lips are all in good taste. The food may be packed into the mouth in any fashion. As it is divided into individual shares on the platters before being served, there is no opportunity for the quick eater to obtain more than his share of food.

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no canoes might be beached, nor commoners trespass. The family of the chief bathed at the next break west of the chief's channel. When the chief had finished his bath, he was carried from the water on the upstretched hands of his family retainers to Te Ulu-takapau where he rested under the shade of coconut leaf mats supported by poles. No commoner would intrude on this place. Close by it were made the special divisions (*laukava*) of chiefly feasts. The minor chiefs had similar beaches and reserved places close to their houses in their respective villages. When the chief walked abroad for exercise, the people moved away to allow him sole and undisputed right to the road.

Besides his family, those most in contact with the chief were his subordinate chiefs, his executive (*wola*), and his attendant (*toa*). This last functionary appears to have been a combination of personal servant, bodyguard, and general executive for the chief. He belonged to the lineage of the chief. He was referred to as *te talatala no te aliki* (the talker of the chief) and generally acted as the chief's agent in calling meetings, carrying messages, arranging food divisions, and like matters.

There was no chiefly language in Pukapuka, no word used only by those of chiefly rank, or by commoners in addressing the chief. Only a special salutation was used for the chief and for his children, who were greeted: "E vale e . . ." without using the chief's name. By transfer, when one commoner wished to use an extremely polite greeting to another, he used *te vale*, as "Na yau ko koe, te vale, nei" (You have come, o *vale*). Such a polite form of greeting is termed *nakahouvale*.

Besides these various tapus, all the major chiefs were priests by virtue of rank. This prerogative was shared also by the executives (*wola*) of these chiefs. In those lineages where there was no chief, only the priest might go to the sacred enclosure of the lineage and consult the gods. In the chiefly lineages—Tua, Matanga, Muliwutu, and Yalongo—priests, chiefs, and executives could all go on the sacred enclosure without violating its sanctity. The division of functions was such that the priest consulted the gods on intra-lineage matters, the chiefs and the executives on matters affecting the island as a whole or the relation of the lineage to other lineages.

SACRED MAID

A final symbol of the status of the chief and of the chiefly lineage was the pattern of appointing a *mayahitanga* (sacred maid). (Cf. *mehekitanga*, the Tongan kinship term applied to father's sister.) Either the first-born female child of the chief or another girl of the chief's lineage was chosen for this purely honorific office. Generally she was supposed to be the most beautiful girl of the lineage. Chosen at the age of about ten years,

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walked hunched-up, cutting their bodies with sharp shells or pieces of coral. They did not walk along the main road between the villages but proceeded through the bush or by back paths. The mourners were not considered unclean. Their hearts were too full of sorrow for them to wish to meet unaffected people. They were not responsible for their actions, so intense was their grief. Hence it was better for them to keep away from the main group of people while in this highly emotionalized state of grief-stricken frenzy. Similarly, mourners going from one cemetery, where they had been watching over the grave of one relative, to another cemetery to take up residence over the grave of another just buried, also walked by the back paths so that their grief would not be communicated to the general populace. The route taken by mourners is called *te ala o te tupua* (the path of the creatures).

Arrived at the house of death (*uale mate*), the mourners walked once or twice around the house, wailing the while and still bent double—then they entered and joined those within. By the time all the mourners had gathered, the corpse was covered or wrapped (*uuhuiuye*) in another mat, leaving only the face uncovered.

It was tapu for any relative or friend to uncover the corpse to take a last look at it. This tapu is explained as a precaution to prevent bereaved spouses or cousins-in-avoidance (*uale atua*) from throwing off the mat and lying down beside the corpse, or lying on top of it. By all accounts this tapu was frequently broken, especially by cousins. It was assumed that the grief of a cousin-in-avoidance would be more intense and frenzied than that of any other close relative. It was further assumed that the surviving cousin would seek from the dead what was denied by the living. This last frenzy of the cousin, leading to passionate embraces, even intercourse (termed in this context *teuka-atunga*), though not socially approved, was at the same time highly excusable. When it occurred it produced no horror or fear in the minds of the mourners. It was considered unseemly, a little extreme in the display of affection. Informants discussed the matter as if it had been a normal expectation in death scenes; there is no record of its happening in recent times. The inference is that it occurred much more frequently in pre-missionary times when the functioning of the kinship avoidance was so rigorous as to necessitate a sufficient give in the social fabric to provide a possible outlet for banked-up emotions.

As each principal mourner arrives at the house of death, he presents to the corpse a death gift (*uutonga*) of mats, malos, pearl-shell necklaces, fish-hooks, or other valuables, which he places on the corpse, then smells[12] (*yongi*) the corpse before retiring to a suitable position among the mourners. Each visitor also brings a gift of nuts or taro, which is placed aside for later division. The close relatives of both sexes sit or lie on the floor in a circle round the corpse. Those most affected half recline across the corpse, burying their faces in the body of the deceased and encircling their arms round it in special frenzies of grief. Other relatives stand by, stamp their feet, move their arms in swaying motions, and cry out to the deceased whom they

[12] A literal translation. The Pukapukan greeting is both inhalation and nose pressure with emphasis on repeated inhalation.

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to be *mata kivikivi* (disagreeable). Consciousness of shame about the occurrence of gossip is the proper attitude to feel in the presence of white people.

Three native words cover phases of anger. A person who is generally disagreeable, rarely, if ever, pleasant to other people is *mata kivikivi*. Such a person is furious with children who approach his house to play and is always getting into arguments or quarrels with other people. The anger of such people is considered unreasonable and due to long-continued bad temper, quite different from the type of anger called *lili*, which is considered more justifiable. A man receives tacit approval if he is *lili* because his wife has committed adultery or because someone has taken nuts from his trees without permission. As long as he does not become too violent in punishing the wrongdoers, reason is on his side. These two angers are distinguished from general hot-headedness, from the anger of a man who flares up readily or quarrels without forethought. Such a person is said to be *manatu poto* or *ngakau kiso*. He is condemned for his anger because it gets himself and others too often into trouble.

Many words refer to those who show lack of respect for people or institutions. Thus a child who is bold or forward before his elders is *wakalakapeka;* one who arrogates to himself privileges that rightfully belong to an older person is also *wakalakapeka*. This word is distinguished from the words *witoki*, *winaki*, and *matamus*, which have nothing to do with respect due to age, but refer to any conduct that is bold or unbecoming. A child who asks favors from a white person is *witoki;* a village that wins a contest refers to the other two villages as *witoki* for having dared to compete with the winning village. A person who boldly uses the personal possessions of another is said to *wakamitamita*. Thus a young man who came into the office, picked up the resident agent's rifle and playfully pointed it at us was reproved by his elders in no uncertain terms for *wakamitamita*. On the other hand, the person who is bold with property that is more intimately connected with the personality of another, as one who lies on another's sleeping mat or wears another's clothes without permission, is *yuwuluwulu tuvina*. The person who generally interferes with another's property or business, causing trouble by making a nuisance of himself, is *ngutu wakanya*.

Many words refer to persons who display unusual qualities about foods. A stingy person is a *tongata kahienge;* a person who flatters another with frequent presents of food is said to *yokoyoko;* a person who selfishly keeps to himself food that should be shared is *noinoi;* a person who is greedy for food is *kopu yae;* a person who is given to begging or wheedling food is *nanau;* a person who makes a point of eating at a household other than his own is *kai yau;* one who steals food is *tayawaya;* one who is generous at giving away food is *kaikai malie*.

One who acts outside the norm of what is considered intelligent behavior is considered stupid or silly. Thus the island family of deaf-mutes is said to be *vale* or *valetiko*, stupid in their behavior. This is distinguished from the foolish behavior of a person who should know better. One man on the island suffers from religious mania and takes every opportunity to deliver impassioned sermons. He is called *pupapupa*, meaning that he speaks and acts foolishly.

Shameful personal peculiarities are *lama:* a crippled person has a *lama;* a bald-headed man has a *lama* and consequently wears a hat day and night. The reaction to a peculiarity of this nature is one of ridicule, never one of sympathy.

The Pukapukans use freely in conversation such terms as *toku veia* (my enemy or my hated person), *toku mina* (my loved or favored one). Especially among children or adolescents one hears the shouted remark: "Ti, toku veia, ko koe" (You're the one I hate), often addressed by an older child to a younger child who has been teasing or making fun of his elder. To have strong dislikes for people is *wai veia* (to make enemies); to have favorites, *wai mina*. A person who is equably tempered, suffering not enemies or friends is spoken of as *e ye wai veia* (one who does not make enemies), or *e ye tulifadi* (one who does not select people).